RIGHTS OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE - KEY TO PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST

Implement UN Resolutions on Palestine!

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International Conference of Solidarity
with the Palestinian People

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INTRODUCTION

Over 200 delegates representing 60 countries and 17 international non-governmental organisations gathered in Basle, Switzerland, from 4–6 May 1979, to discuss the recent developments in the Middle East and to express their solidarity with the Palestinian people.

The occasion was the International Conference of Solidarity with the Palestinian People organised by the World Peace Council, in cooperation with the Palestine Liberation organisation (PLO) and the Swiss Peace Movement.

Never in the history of the solidarity movement with the Palestine people has there been such a broad representative conference grouping topmost representatives of most diverse political parties and public organisations on all five continents – Social Democratic, Conservative, Liberal, Radical, Christian Democratic, Centre and Communist parties, in addition to liberation movements, trade unions, religious institutions, women, youth and other mass organisations.

The international mass media, in its wide coverage of the Conference, rightly described it as "history-making", an opinion shared by all who took part in it. The same sentiments were echoed by the President of the World Peace Council, Mr. Romesh Chandra, in his opening address. "In the future," Mr. Chandra said, "people will certainly speak of 1979, of a conference which made history for Palestine, for the Middle East and for the whole world... We do not use the expression history-making lightly in regard to this Conference..."

The Conference met at Basle's historic Volkshaus (People's House) which has long traditions of hosting peace and anti-war gatherings. The anti-First World War movement originated at meetings held in the same Volkshaus in 1912 where such outstanding peace leaders as August Bebel, Jean Jaurés and Rosa Luxembourg declared their opposition to war.

The President of the Swiss Peace Movement, Mr. Hans Stebler, underlined in his welcome address the significance of the conference and the attachment of the Swiss peace forces to the cause of peace in the Middle East and the struggle of the Palestinian people for their national rights.

"This Conference is the first major event that takes place in the renovated Volkshaus. We shall make every effort to create the best conditions for the success of the Conference. Hundreds of members of our movement and other movements have volunteered their labour to assure the smooth running of the Conference. Christians, Jews, Socialists, Communists and independents, young and old, from different parts of Switzerland, are working together at this Conference, united by their common will to make a contribution towards establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We know that a decision on war or peace in that region is of great importance also for our country and our people. Our share in the organisation of this solidarity conference is meant as a contribution towards the struggle for the rights of the Palestinian people and for peace in the region," Mr. Stebler said.

The importance attached by the Palestine Liberation Organisation to the Conference was reflected in the high level delegation it sent headed by two members of the Executive Committee – Mr. Farouk Kaddoumi, Head of the Political Department, and Dr. Ahmed Sidki Al-Dajani, PLO responsible for the Arab-European parliamentary dialogue.

Another significant feature was the participation of a representative delegation from the Israeli occupied Arab territories composed of Mr. Karim Khalaf, Mayor of Ramallah, Mr. Mohammed Melhim, Mayor of Halhoul, Mr. Jamil Al-Turaifi, Deputy Mayor of Al-Bira, and Mr. Bashir Al-Barghouthi, Chief Editor of "Al-Talia'ah" weekly.

Other Arab delegations included high level representatives of major political parties and organisations, reflecting the determination in the Arab countries to achieve a just settlement of the Middle East problem on the basis of UN resolutions and the attainment of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

A three-member delegation of the Israeli peace forces, which was warmly welcomed by the conference, included the outstanding lawyer and champion of just peace in the Middle East Mrs. Felicia Langer.

Top level UN officials also took part in the Conference. The Deputy Director General of the UN Office in Geneva, Mr. Mowaffak Allaf, the Rapporteur of the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People Ambassador Victor Gauci, and representatives of the UN Special Unit on Palestinian Rights addressed the Conference.

The Conference which had as its main objective to draw up a concrete programme of action in support of the United Nations resolutions on the Palestine question and of UN efforts to bring a just and durable peace to the Middle East, discussed three main points:

– The struggle of the Palestinian people for their inalienable national rights and the United Nations,

– The Camp David Accords and other Egyptian-Israeli agreements and their effect on the situation in the Middle East, with special reference to the struggle of the Palestinian people,

– Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories.

Under item 3 of the agenda, the Conference held a special hearing on the situation in the occupied Arab territories and continued Israeli violations of human rights. Recently released Palestinian prisoners from Israeli jails described in detail the inhuman torture and conditions to which they were subjected.

The delegation from the occupied Arab territories gave a full report on Israel's colonization drive, expropriation of land and attempts at full annexation of the occupied territories. They communicated the total rejection of the population in the occupied territories of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty and the so-called "self-rule" plan for the occupied territories.

The Conference unanimously adopted at the close of its work a number of documents, including a detailed programme of action for mobilising world public opinion to support UN resolutions on the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

This booklet contains the documents of the Conference. Relevant UN resolutions have also been included as an annex for the benefit of readers.

INCREASED SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINIAN PEOPLE IS NEEDED*

by Romesh Chandra
President,
World Peace Council

The International Conference of Solidarity with the Palestinian People is of historic significance for peace in the whole world.

We are very privileged and happy that we have with us a delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation which is here today to stand by our side and to enable us to stand by the side of the heroic people of Palestine.

Permit me first of all to extend them a very warm welcome.

This conference is a peace conference; it is a conference for peace in the Middle East, for peace in the world. Our firm belief and our starting point is that there can be no peace without Palestine. We judge each action which claims to be an action for peace in the Middle East by simple and yet vitally important criterion: an action for peace in the Middle East must be an action which supports the just cause of the Palestinian people.

Moreover, when we say that there is no peace without Palestine – we add that there is no Palestine without the PLO!

Let those who want to find Palestinian "discussion partners" – and some have been found ten thousand kilometers from Palestine – who claim to be Palestinians – let them understand quite clearly that there is no Palestinian worthy of this name who is prepared to betray the common cause of the entire Palestinian people, which is the common cause of all who stand

* Text of the speech delivered by Mr. Romesh Chandra at the opening session of the International Conference of Solidarity with the Palestinian People (Basle, May 4–6, 1979)

for peace in the world – the cause of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

We are meeting at a time when new conspiracies, dangerous conspiracies, have been put into operation by the enemies of peace, the enemies of the cause of independence in every part of the world. We must see these developments in their proper worldwide context of new efforts to destroy peace, to destroy detente, to efface the great victories which have been won.

The manoeuvres and conspiracies in the Middle East are part of a global strategy, worked out by imperialism, with its zionist and reactionary partners, in all parts of the world, to block the onward march of the peoples of the world towards a lasting peace based on national independence, justice and social progress.

We cannot and do not look at each question separately, as imperialism would wish us to do. At this moment, the biggest arms buildup ever known in human history has been undertaken by the United States and by the most aggressive circles of NATO. This arms buildup is quantitatively and qualitatively more dangerous than at any time, and it is aimed essentially against the independence of the peoples and against peace in the world.

The recent announcement of the creation of a special fleet which is to be stationed near the area of the Middle East, of the setting up of a special armed force to be deployed for intervention wherever the United States may think that its interests are at stake – is part of this conspiracy, which is directed against peace, independence, justice and social progress for all.

We see a new alliance emerging between the most aggressive circles of NATO, the forces of imperialism, and the present leaders of the Chinese People's Republic, which has resulted in the aggression, the continuing aggression against Vietnam, against Laos, against Kampuchea. We see this aggression as inextricably connnected with the worldwide offensive of imperialism and reaction.

We see the new conspiracies in Southern Africa to set up puppet governments in Zimbabwe and in Namibia, – neo-colonialist in nature, to prevent the liberation movements from going forward – as part of this vast global conspiracy of imperialism.

We see the situation in Latin America – the efforts to

suppress the rising upsurge in this continent, the efforts of the fascist, neo-fascist and reactionary regimes in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Guatemala, the colonial domination of Puerto Rico – we see all this as another part of the global conspiracy by imperialism.

Therefore, the fight for peace and independence is not a fight which takes place in each part of the world separately from other parts.

It is in this universal context of this global conspiracy of imperialism, zionism and reaction that we are viewing today the struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

We have looked with great concern and with great attention at the nature of the conspiracy which has been carried on for many years against the struggle of the Palestinian people, against the struggle of the Arab peoples. We believe that this conspiracy has today entered a **new stage** and must be understood as a new stage and fought as such.

This Conference has been called with a view to examine ways by which we can really move toward peace, really move toward justice, and we believe – and I think that this is the common opinion of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world, the overwhelming majority of the governments of the world, of the United Nations itself – that to achieve peace in the Middle East, we must implement the clearcut decisions taken by the United Nations in regard to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

When we say that there is no peace without Palestine, we mean – and this must be clearly understood – that peace requires that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are guaranteed; and let me say straight away that there can be no peace without the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. This is a clearcut position which all who stand for peace have taken, the clearcut position of the vast majority in the United Nations itself.

We also believe that there can be no peace – and the United Nations has made this absolutely clear – unless Israel withdraws totally and completely from all the occupied Arab territories. We base our understanding not on some narrow concept, which is shared by a narrow group of people only; we base ourselves on a concept which is that of the United Nations, and of the vast majority of the governments of the world and of the vast majority of the peoples of the world.

And it is because of this that we have given serious thought to the latest stage of the imperialist manoeuvres.

We have examined in detail what is called the "Peace Treaty" between Israel and Egypt: we have looked at it and examined it very seriously, for we are serious people. We have no prejudice, but we start with a clearcut understanding as to what is the way forward.

We believe that a treaty which provides for and whose first effect is the increase of the supply of the most modern weapons from the United States to Israel can scarcely be called a treaty of peace.

Right inside the United States itself, inside the countries allied to the United States, there are mounting protest against this immediate result of the treaty. People are asking a very simple question: if the treaty is to ensure peace, why is it necessary to supply Israel with vast quantities of the latest and most sophisticated arms, as stipulated in the open clauses of the treaty? Why is it necessary to grant three billion dollars to the ruling circle of Israel, whose aggressive activities are known everywhere, again for military purposes?

At the same time the results of the treaty speak for themselves. More open defiance of every United Nations resolution on the Middle East, culminating in open attacks against United Nations forces in Lebanon and the infamous and criminal so-called declaration of "independence" by a group of reactionary army officers in Southern Lebanon. Moreover, new attacks by Israel, bombings, killings, on a scale never known before, are the order of the day.

Another immediate result of this treaty are the announcements made during these days. Prime Minister Begin declared categorically that there is no question of any Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights; that there is no question of any withdrawal from the West Bank but that there is, on the contrary, every intention to set up new colonies, new settlements in the West Bank region. This is part and parcel of the implementation of the so-called "peace treaty". And of course, to top it all, Begin declared that he would never have anything to do with the PLO, which he abused once again in the most despicable fashion.

This is not merely an aggressive posture – a declaration of the Israeli intention to continue the domination of Palestine. Begin's declarations must be seen as the most flagrant and open

defiance of the United Nations, as proof of the determination of the Israeli rulers to continue the occupation endlessly, accompanied by every type of repression and by the setting up of new colonies and settlements.

During these last days, the people of the West Bank, particularly students and young people, took to the streets in peaceful demonstrations against the occupation, against torture and oppression in the occupied territories. These demonstrations were fired on, resulting in the wounding and killing of innocent people. The settlers have now been given arms for precisely this purpose; it is not enough to have the police and the army "keeping order" on the West Bank; now fascist gangs have been set up for the purpose of shooting down Palestinian young people, women and children also who demonstrate peacefully – for their liberation, for the implementation of United Nations resolutions, which demand the vacation of these territories by the occupation forces.

Therefore, these latest incidents have to be seen not only as brutalities committed by a barbaric occupation power but also and especially as another instance of open defiance of the United Nations.

We uphold the United Nations. We seek the full support of the United Nations for the activities which we undertake in every part of the world for peace, independence, justice and social progress. We consider this open and flagrant defiance of the United Nations, which is being intensified continuously, a matter of great concern.

This Conference wishes to popularise in the whole world the United Nations resolutions on Palestine and on the rights of the Palestinian people, and calls for worldwide support for these rights.

The Israeli-Egyptian treaty has been rightly described by no less a person than Moshe Dayan as an "alliance". It is a military alliance. In fact, its main purpose is to promote the military plans of the United States. It is an alliance fashioned in Washington, which corresponds to the interests of Washington, the interests which are quite clearly spelled out in the written clauses and in the unwritten clauses; to increase the United States military presence in this vital region of the world, to undermine the independence and sovereignty of the peoples of this area and to strike a blow against the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the sole representative of the people of Palestine.

We welcome the fact that these moves by the ruling circles of Israel meet with increasing opposition inside Israel itself. We are very happy that at this Conference are represented these peace forces from inside Israel, which oppose this sham treaty, which oppose this Pax Americana and which oppose the expansionist, aggressive, racist policies of the zionist rulers of Israel.

What is the way forward? We believe that the way forward has been clearly outlined by the Palestine Liberation Organisation, by its National Council. We believe that the way forward has been clearly pointed out at the recent Arab Summit in Baghdad as well as by those forces inside Egypt itself who are opposing the betrayal of the Arab people, symbolised by this so-called "peace treaty".

All the imperialist efforts now being made to weaken the steadfast stand and the unity of the Arab governments and peoples and of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, all the efforts to find new traitors, to gain new allies for imperialism and zionism – all these efforts will fail.

Our Conference not only extends its total and unconditional solidarity to the Palestine Liberation Organisation; it also extends full support to the unity of the Arab governments and peoples who oppose the Pax Americana and the treachery which accompanies it and who are carrying forward the great cause of the Palestinian people.

In this struggle the Palestinian people and the Arab forces and governments which stand with them can count on powerful allies and great support. The Arab people are strong if they are united, and their unity is growing all the time. All efforts aimed at disrupting this unity must be combatted and will be defeated.

The Arab peoples and the Palestinian people are strong also because they know very well who are their friends and who are their enemies. They know that their struggle is part of the common struggle of all peoples against imperialism. Those who try to divide one anti-imperialist struggle from another do great harm to their own cause and their own peoples.

At all times the Arab peoples are aware of the strength that comes to them from international solidarity. The Arab peoples know well that with them stand the anti-imperialist forces, the peace forces of the world, first and foremost among them the Soviet Union, the best friend of the Arab peoples, the best friend of Palestine.

The enemy's attacks are not only directed against Arab unity; one of his main aims has always been to weaken the unity of the Arab peoples and their best friends, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The Arab cause and the Palestine Liberation Organisation also enjoy the support of the vast movement of non-aligned countries, of anti-imperialist countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. With them stand the vast masses of the working people, of the different political parties – Socialist, Communist, Liberal, Radical, Christian – in the capitalist countries of Europe and North America, who increasingly exercise pressure on their governments and very often are able to ensure that their governments oppose the Pax Americana and support the just cause of the Arab peoples.

Ours is a vast movement representing this broad solidarity, the international solidarity of governments and peoples. I wish to underline this: ours is a movement of **governments and peoples,** who stand on the side of justice and peace in the Middle East and who stand, therefore, with the Palestinian cause, with the Baghdad Summit, with the governments and peoples of the Arab world, who oppose the infamous Pax Americana.

We are willing to cooperate with everyone who is willing to cooperate on any single issue of the Palestine problem, even with those who may not yet see clearly what we see in regard to the dangerous character of the so-called "peace" treaty.

We are prepared to cooperate with all who see that there can be no peace without Palestine, without ensuring and guaranteeing the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

We are prepared to cooperate with everyone. At the same time, we wish to state explicitly that today no one can say that he supports the Palestinian people and at the same time not understand that one of the principal aims of the "peace treaty", together with the aim of increasing United States presence in the Middle East, is to weaken and impede the struggle of the Palestinian people. The treaty is squarely directed against the Palestinian people.

We heard Begin's speech during these last two days and we also heard the speech of the other "great" signatory of the so-called treaty, President Anwar Sadat, who also made his position quite clear in regard to this matter, when he said that

the Palestine Liberation Organisation has no right to discuss any question regarding the West Bank and the Gaza strip.

Our solidarity with the Palestinian people today demands new actions, for they have to face a new conspiracy, a dangerous conspiracy which seeks to confuse public opinion by misusing the word "peace". Our struggle is a common struggle. We fight for Palestine because Palestine fights for all the good causes in the world. Palestine's struggle is vitally connected with the struggle of the liberation movements of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia. It is vitally linked with the struggles in Latin America – in Chile and elsewhere. Palestine's struggle is linked with the struggle of the Vietnamese people against Chinese aggression. And similarly, the struggles in Vietnam, in Southern Africa, in Latin America and other parts of the world, the progress made in the struggle for disarmament, for reducing the NATO arms buildup – all these are vitally linked with the struggle of the Palestinian people.

We see the conspiracy against Palestine first and foremost as part of the global conspiracy against peace, independence and justice everywhere. And at the same time we see the importance of the struggle of the Palestinian people for gaining all-out support for the anti-imperialist forces in the Arab world. This itself is of the greatest importance for strengthening the struggle for peace, disarmament and national independence in every part of the world.

The Palestinian cause is the cause of the main struggles which we are waging at this time in every part of the world. You cannot fight against the NATO arms buildup, against the neutron bomb and against all the other weapons of mass destruction, which are being put into operation by United States imperialism and the NATO powers, unless you understand at the same time that the cause of Palestine and the struggle of Palestine are also vital for the success of that struggle, just as the fight against the NATO arms race is at the same time a fight against the NATO and imperialist conspiracies in the Middle East and therefore a fight for Palestine.

So it is this unity in the struggle for all the good causes for which people strive everywhere that unites us today with Palestine.

It is quite clear that in this struggle in the Middle East, which is a struggle for Palestine, there is no possibility of defeat.

We are meeting at a time when the struggle for Palestine is

becoming a key question for the whole worldwide effort for peace. It is not just that we declare again that we extend our solidarity to Palestine. At this time, more than ever, we must reiterate our solidarity and find new ways to meet the dangerous new conspiracy. We know that we shall win, we are confident. But you cannot win unless you know and see clearly imperialism's sinister purposes, its devilish methods and its immense arms buildup.

The enemy is not a paper tiger. Make no mistake about that. The enemy is strong. And therefore the battle against the enemy, the battle for Palestine, in which we are all engaged, requires new methods, new strength. We need to draw into action the widest range of political forces, governments and peoples, governmental and non-governmental organisations. A vast international campaign of solidarity with Palestine is needed at this hour, something that takes us to new fields, to new areas, to new political forces which have not yet entered the struggle, though they are viewing with great concern the results of the Pax Americana treaty.

I would like to thank you all for responding to the invitation to come to this Conference. We do not use the expression history-making lightly in regard to this Conference, merely for the sake of using it. We meet at the right time for the peoples of the world to take their stand against imperialism.

This is a Conference to plan new actions, to decide new methods, to foil the fearful plans of imperialism whose central aim at this time is Palestine.

If imperialism is desperately attacking us today, it does so not only because of the great victories which were scored some years ago – the victories of Vietnam and of Angola, of Mozambique, Guinea Bissau – not only because of the victories over the fascist regimes in Portugal, Greece and Spain.

Imperialism is desperate also because it is meeting with ever new defeats.

We have here with us delegations from Iran, from Afghanistan, from Ethiopia. Great new victories have been scored in recent times against imperialist manoeuvres and imperialist attacks. Iran was able to overthrow the regime that was hated by the people, the regime that was the most faifhful vassal of the United States. This also gives us confidence and strength.

Imperialism is desperate, but it is not winning: its actions

are signs of its despair at its losses.

So we begin this Conference with a feeling of the certainty of a great new advance in the struggle against imperialism, with a feeling of optimism regarding the great new unity of the Arab peoples and of the Arab peoples with their friends in the rest of the world.

Let me end by saying once again that we see the struggle for Palestine as a key issue for the whole world.

Palestine's victory would lead to advances everywhere. Palestine's victory – its final victory – is the biggest contribution that we can make at this time in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Palestine fights for the whole world – and that is why the world fights for Palestine!

FULFILMENT OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE'S RIGHTS IS KEY TO PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST*

by Farouk Kaddoumi
Head of Political Department,
Palestine Liberation Organisation

I am coming to this conference directly from the Middle East, where serious political developments have taken place during the last few months. These developments will have very serious consequences on the future of peace in the area and in the world.

From this perspectives, your Conference gains additional importance. For it has to deal with crucial events and will help to clarify the only possible road to peace. Peace means the complete liberation of the area from imperialist and zionist influence, and its march on the road to prosperity and progress.

It is a well-known fact that the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian question which is the essence of the whole conflict, has become more complicated since the Israeli aggression of 1967. In this war, Israel occupied the rest of Palestine – the West Bank and the Gaza strip – as well as parts of Syria and Egypt. Hence the Middle East problem became a critical and pressing issue facing the international community and the U.N. and its organs, the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The reaction of our Palestinian Arab people to this new Zionist aggression was to escalate their armed struggle which started in 1965. The Palestinian popular resistance increased on all levels inside the occupied territories. The Palestinian problem became clearly regarded as a struggle of a people for their

* Text of the speech delivered by Mr. Farouk Kaddoumi at the opening session of the International Conference of Solidarity with the Palestinian People (Basle, May 4–6, 1979)

homeland. The Palestinian Liberation Movement became an important part of the world liberation movement. It gained the interest and support of most peoples and countries of the world. It became an important issue in international meetings and was raised and discussed at the U.N. General Assembly, the Security Council, and the different conferences of non-aligned countries, the African Summit meetings and the Islamic countries conferences.

The PLO actively participated in discussions on the Palestinian problem. It regained its permanent membership in these international conferences as well as its membership of the U.N. as an observer. The General Assembly and international conferences adopted tens of resolutions in support of the struggle of our people and of their national rights. This was basically embodied in the U.N. General Assembly resolution 3236. This resolution, adopted in 1974, emphasized the right of our people to return to their homeland, to self-determination and to the establishment of their national independent state on their land. In this same session, brother Yasser Arafat appealed to the people of the world not to let the olive branch fall from his hand.

The U.N. General Assembly has further strengthened its position two years ago by adopting another resolution forming a special committee to follow up the Palestinian people's exercise of their inalienable rights. This committee prepared several reports on this subject which were submitted to the Security Council which would have approved them if it were not for the United States' veto.

At the same time, there were international efforts calling for an international peace conference with the participation of all concerned parties including the Soviet Union and the United States of America. These efforts that aimed at a peaceful solution to the problem faced obstacles from USA and Israel. For both are against peace in the area and are against the recognition of the Palestinian national rights. For them peace means a real threat to imperialist interests in the area, and they just wanted to manoeuvre and gain time.

The visit of Sadat to Jerusalem completely destroyed all efforts for the achievement of peace. It meant a recognition of Israel, complete disregard of the Palestinian national rights as well as the ignoring of all international efforts to reach a real solution to the Middle East problem. Sadat's visit led to a new

atmosphere charged with tension and anxiety. This was followed by Israel's aggression against South Lebanon, the occupation of new Arab land and the escalation of the crisis which threatens world peace.

Sadat's visit and the occupation of South Lebanon were sponsored and supported by the USA which has a direct interest in perpetrating Zionist occupation and maintaining Israel as a policeman protecting its exploitation of the riches of the area and the exploitation of the Arab national liberation movement.

Egypt and Israel and the USA pursued their schemes which reached a climax in their signing the so-called Camp David agreements. These agreements were completely rejected by our people. Our people rejected the so-called self-rule; for it completely denied their national rights. The Arab countries too rejected the Camp David agreements in the 9th Arab Summit Conference in Baghdad. They declared their resistance to all the results of these agreements. This brought about the complete political isolation of the Sadat regime. Our people inside and outside the occupied territories expressed their total rejection of Sadat's surrender. Sadat has made concession after concession! First, in relation to the PLO in his speech in the Knesset; then on the Palestinian national independent state in the Ismailia meeting with Begin; and finally his concessions on the Palestinian people's right to self-determination in his meeting with Carter in Aswan.

We jerected and reject the so-called self-rule that was included in the Camp David agreements, for all the reasons mentioned before, in addition to the following basic reasons:

Begin claimed in the document presented to the Israeli council of ministers "it is administrative and not legislative rule. It is a self-determination for the population and not for the land". This means that the Israeli occupation, the military presence, and settlements will be enforced and will be legalized!

In addition, the proposed self-rule deals with our people as if there were two peoples, one inside, and one outside; it does not guarantee the right of our people to self-determination, including the right to establish their own independent state.

To so-called elections provided in the project of self-rule for the occupied territories is an attempt to create an alternative to the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

We are fully confident that our people – who have on all

occasions rallied around the PLO – will reject this new attempt and will foil it as they have done in the past. We are equally confident that our people will continue their determined struggle against occupation regardless of the repression and terror, the description of which would be too lengthy here. We will leave it to our comrades coming from the occupied territories to speak about the terror and repression to which they are subjected daily. However, we would like to confine ourselves to pointing out that there are thousands of prisoners and detainees, thousands of deportees and thousands of others who have been expelled from their homeland. Prisoners are brutally tortured. Collective punishments such as blowing up of houses, expropriation of land on a large scale, the establishment of settlements and changing the demographical and physical features of many areas, as well as the enforcement of new laws and taxes, the aim of which is to force the inhabitants to leave their homes and vacate their lands, are daily practices resorted to by the Israeli authorities against our people.

The methods of the Israeli authorities have by far surpassed all the sick innovations of nazism and fascism in the field of torture and enslavement of people.

The present sufferings in the area are due in the first place to the designs and policy of American imperialism. It is clear that US policy aims at changing the political and geographical features of the area in order to guarantee US economic and strategic interests. In pursuit of this objective the US is providing Israel with tremendous continuous financial and military aid to enable it to fulfill its mission as an advanced imperialist base in the Arab region.

US efforts have been from the beginning aimed at undermining international efforts and cooperation to reach a just solution to the problem. The US wanted to monopolize the efforts in implementation of their imperialist policies. Consequently, Kissinger came out with his infamous step-by-step policy which started with the disengagement on the Egyptian front. The Sinai agreement and its annexes which followed constituted a very serious turning point in the history of this region.

The new American administration continued the same political line. Carter personally participated in all the stages of the negotiations that followed. He considered the United States as a third party in the negotiations, so that more control could

be exercised over the various stages of this American solution and also to guarantee US military presence in Sinai and Negev.

Despite US official statements and declarations that had some positive aspects, such as what has been said by President Carter concerning the necessity of having a Palestinian homeland, or its recognition that the PLO represents a vital part of the Palestinian people, and despite the points contained in the joint Soviet-American communique concerning the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the United States has once again totally disregarded these statements and declarations. It itensified its ferocious offensive in the region after the collapse of the imperial Iranian regime and the victory of the popular uprising in Iran under the leadership of the patriotic leader Ayatollah Khomeiny. The Shah's regime was a base for US imperialism, an espionnage center against the Soviet Union and a bafon with which it threatened the neighbouring countries, as has happened in Oman and with its attempts to intervene in the Horn of Africa. The Iranian revolution has declared good neighbourliness with surrounding countries, particularly the friendly Soviet Union. It also declared its support for all national liberation movements, particularly the Palestinian Revolution.

In reality, the Iranian revolution was one of the direct causes prompting the United States to hasten the conclusion of the Egypto-Israeli treaty, in order to create a new military alliance to compensate what it had lost with the collapse of the imperial Iranian regime.

The visit of US Defence Secretary Brown to the Middle East area shortly before the signing of the treaty was a part of the efforts to return the area to the era of occupation and military pacts. The Iranian revolution has led to the collapse of the CENTO pact from which Pakistan and Turkey were forced to withdraw.

We are not alone in opposing this capitulatory policy which produced the Egypto-Israeli treaty. All the Arab peoples and the Egyptian people in the first place have opposed it, as well as all the forces of liberation, progress and peace in the world.

The Egyptian people represented by its patriotic and democratic forces have firmly opposed this treaty because it violates in many of its articles Egypt's national sovereignty.

It is internationally known that the imposition of economic conditions in a political treaty cannot be done except in treaties

terminating the war between a victorious party and a vanquished one.

The trampling under foot of Egyptian national dignity has reached such a level that the treaty prohibits in some of its articles the propaganda against Zionism, despite the fact that this ideology contains racist anti-human concepts which were condemned by the General Assembly of the United Nations in several of its resolutions. The treaty also imposed the exchange of ambassadors and the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries at a time when Israel continues to occupy a large area of Egyptian territory.

In addition, the treaty contains provisions for the disarming of Sinai in a manner which creates two boundaries for Egypt – as was declared by Carter since his election as US President – a political and historical boundary and a defence boundary at the Suez Canal.

The lesson which we can draw from what has taken place between Egypt and Israel is clear for our people. The peace being imposed by Zionism and US imperialism is not peace. It is a capitulation. It is not in the interest of the peoples' concerned but, on the contrary, it is for their enslavement and the continued exploitation of their national riches by US imperialism.

We are for peace and for justice. We are for all the sincere efforts to guarantee both peace and justice. But we also say at the same time that there can be no peace without our national rights. And our national rights cannot be guaranteed except by a comprehensive solution in the achievement of which should participate all concerned parties, including PLO. It is a solution that should be achieved within the framework of the United Nations and in accordance with its charter and resolutions.

Partial and bilateral agreements can never lead to peace but to war and undermine all opportunities for peace.

Our national rights can be summarized as follows: the right to self-determination, like that recognized for all other peoples in the world; the right to return to our homeland and to establish our independent Palestinian state on our land. That can only be achieved through total Israeli withdrawal from all Arab and Palestinian territories. Peace can only be reached through the agreement of the international community and the guarantees of USSR and the United States.

Our Palestinian people will continue their struggle as a part

of the Arab nation to achieve its objectives. They appreciate the positive position of the Third World countries vis-a-vis our struggle. They also appreciate the efforts and principled positions of the socialist community, particularly the Soviet Union. They aspire for more support and help from these states. Our people are hopeful that the West European states and the European community in particular will realize that European security is linked to the security in our area. Our people warn against the dangers to be faced by Europe, by the Arab region and the world at large, as a result of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty and its results.

We have reviewed with you the events and developments in the area and we have presented to you what perspectives we visualize. We sincerely hope that you will take these facts into consideration and that your conference will come out with appropriate resolutions and recommendations in harmony with the nature of the present state; so that all the energy of world public opinion and of the United Nations may be directed to undermining the imperialist conspiracy against peace in the area, to supporting the Palestinian people and to finding a practical way to implement the resolutions of the United Nations. In this way a comprehensive and just solution may be reached that would lead to a permament and stable peace.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE PALESTINE QUESTION*

by Mowaffak Allaf
Deputy Director General,
United Nations Office at Geneva

It gives me great pleasure to be able today to address this Conference of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, the object of which is to draw up a "concrete programme of action in support of United Nations resolutions on the Palestinian question and of U.N. efforts to bring a just and durable peace to the Middle East".

The United Nations'preoccupation with the question of Palestine goes as far back as the very inception of the World organization. It was in 1947, in fact, that the British Government – the occupying and later the mandatory power for more than a quarter of a century – invoking its inability to reconcile the conflicting claims and aspirations of Arabs and Jews in Palestine and its reluctance to pursue the "unworkable" mandate or to impose a solution of its own on the parties, decided to hand over the whole problem to the newly established United Nations.

Thus the United Nations was confronted with this difficult problem when it was less than two years old. After several weeks of discussion during its First Special Session (April-May 1947), the General Assembly established a United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) with mandate to submit proposals to the next (Second) regular session of the General Assembly in September 1947 for the solution of the problem of Palestine.

* Text of the address of Mr. Mowaffak Allaf at the opening session of the International Conference of Solidarity with the Palestinian People (Basle, May 4–6, 1979)

That Second regular session of the General Assembly adopted on 29 November 1947 the fateful resolution 181 (II) which partitioned Palestine into a Jewish State, an Arab State and an internationalized city of Jerusalem. That resolution has been implemented only partially, as you know. Israel was created in May 1948, but the Palestinian Arab State has never seen the light and the international status of Jerusalem has not been put into effect. Furthermore, as a result of four major wars in the region during the last 32 years, the whole territory of mandatory Palestine, in addition to certain parts of Syrian and Egyptian territories came under Israeli occupation.

The United Nations has been exerting tireless efforts during all these years in order to promote a just and lasting solution to the problem and to alleviate the sufferings of the civilian inhabitants.

The United Nations' two main organs, the General Assembly and the Security Council, held countless meetings and adopted hundreds of resolutions and decisions on the question of Palestine and on the wider Middle East problem during the more than three decades of its existence. After the two early important General Assembly resolutions: 181(II) of 29 November 1947 which contained the Partition plan, and 194 (III) of 11 December 1948 which established the Conciliation Commission for Palestine (CCP) and recognized the right of Palestinian refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours to be permitted to do so, or to be justly compensated if they chose not to return; the bulk of subsequent General Assembly and Security Council resolutions dealt with humanitarian and human rights aspects, armistice, cease-fire, and demarcation lines violations, and peace-keeping operations in the region.

In the humanitarian domain, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) has worked during the last 30 years to help the hundreds of thousands of people displaced, uprooted, made homeless by the Arab-Israeli conflict; and to provide them with basic services, food, shelter, health-care, education and training.

In addition to this humanitarian role, the United Nations – through the action of the General Assembly and the Security Council – established various peace-keeping operations to neutralize and prevent, to the extent possible, further conflagrations and consequently, further suffering of the

population. This UN role continues to this very day as we are all aware.

With the outbreak of hostilities in June 1967 the United Nations opened yet another chapter in its preoccupation with the Palestine question. Immediately after the cessation of hostilities and on 14 June 1967 the Security Council adopted resolution 237 (1967) calling upon the Government of Israel "to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the areas where military operations have taken place and to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who have fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities". The Security Council recommended the scrupulous respect of the humanitarian principles governing the treatment of prisoners-of-war and the protection of civilian persons in time of war contained in the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949.

Later, in December 1968, the General Assembly established a special Committee to investigate Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the population of the occupied territories. This special committee has continued to follow the situation of human rights of the civilian population of the territories occupied in 1967 and has regularly informed the General Assembly on this situation. A few weeks ago, the Security Council in its turn established a Commission to investigate the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories including Jerusalem.

But the Palestine question continued to be treated, even after the major Arab-Israeli war of June 1967, as principally a "refugee problem". It was not until the early 1970's that the members of the United Nations began to direct their attention to the increasing political awareness of the Palestinian people. This new U.N. political approach to the Palestinian problem was clearly manifested in the Twenty-Ninth session of the General Assembly in 1974, when the General Assembly granted the Palestine Liberation Organization, (in its resolution 3237 (XXIX)), an observer status and invited her to participate in the session and the work of the U.N. General Assembly and all international conferences convened under the auspices of the General Assembly or other organs of the United Nations.

However, the real turning point in the United Nations approach to the Palestinian question was expressed, not in the said resolution, but in resolution 3236 (XXIX) adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on the same date (22 November 1974)

which recognized and spelled out for the first time the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people including their right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty, return to their homes and property from which they had been displaced and uprooted. The same resolution recognized also the Palestinian people as a principal party in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle-East. The Palestine Liberation Organization was also recognized in this resolution – as in numerous subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly – as **the representative** of the Palestinian people.

The political dimension of the Palestinian question was further enhanced during the following session of the United Nations General Assembly and the cause of the Palestinian people – as a people entitled to self-determination and to their own national sovereign rights like any other people – gained ever-widening international recognition. At its thirtieth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3375 (XXX) inviting the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East which are held under the auspices of the United Nations. At the same session, another extremely important step in the direction of U.N. efforts to help the Palestinian people regain their national rights was taken. In its resolution 3376 (XXX), the General Assembly established the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People with the task of recommending to the General Assembly a programme of implementation designed to enable the Palestinian people to exercise the rights recognized in resolution 3236 (XXIX).

The distinguished Rapporteur of the U.N. Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Ambassador Gauci, who is amongst us, is much better qualified, I am sure, to inform your honorable conference on the details of the remarkable work done by the Committee and on its important recommendations and their crucial significance to the Palestinian People. These recommendations of the Committee were endorsed and adopted by the U.N. General Assembly at its 31st session. At the following 32nd session, the General Assembly reaffirmed its endorsement of these recommendations and requested the Secretary General to establish within the Secretariat of the United Nations, a special Unit on Palestinian Rights which would prepare studies and publications relating to

the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the relevant U.N. resolutions on the question, and to promote maximum publicity for such studies. In the same resolution, the General Assembly requested the Secretary General to organize, commencing in 1978, annual observance of 29 November as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people. In accordance with this decision, the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people was observed for the first time last year on 29 November 1978, both at the United Nations Headquarters in New York and the United Nations Office at Geneva. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim addressed a special message on that occasion.

Your conference today is convened as I said at the beginning of my statement, under the same banner and in pursuance of the same objectives: Solidarity with the Palestinian people and support of UN efforts to bring a just and lasting peace to the Middle-East.

The United Nations cannot but welcome all sincere and positive endavours towards such aims and I can think of no better way of concluding my statement, than to quote the following extract from the Secretary-General's aforementionned message on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people last year:

"For some time now, the international community has clearly understood that a just solution of the Palestinian dimension of the Middle East problem is of over-riding importance. It is in this context that the General Assembly last year decided on a programme for the observance of an international day of solidarity with the Palestinian People. By doing so, the General Assembly is desirous of focusing the attention of the international community on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and giving the widest possible exposure to the facts relating to those rights.

"For a mixture of compelling reasons, the situation in the Middle East vitally affects not only international peace and security but the interests of the world community as a whole. Probably no other single subject has so consistently and deeply preoccupied our organization. Four times already since the United Nations was founded, the area has been embroiled in war, with all its tragic consequences for the people of the region and its attendant risks to world peace. However formidable the difficulties are, therefore, we cannot afford to relax for a

moment the efforts to find a peaceful way forward. I would like to take this opportunity to underline once again the crucial importance of the Palestine issue in any search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

I have attempted in this statement to review with you the various aspects of U.N. endeavours to ensure peace and justice in that unfortunate region. As stated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Palestinian dimension is of over-riding importance in any genuine peaceful and just solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The General Assembly has reaffirmed only a few months ago this basic truth in its latest resolution 33/28 on the Palestinian question when it stated:

"A just and lasting peace in the Middle-East cannot be established without the achievement, **inter alia**, of a just solution of the problem of Palestine on the basis of the attainment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people."

This remains – we believe – together with the fundamental principle of non-acquisition of territories of others by war, the shortest cut to a Middle East in which all peoples and nations can live in peace, security and harmony.

HIGH TIME WE PROCEED FROM WORDS TO ACTION*

by Ambassador Victor Gauci
Rapporteur
UN Committee on the Exercise
of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People

The UN Committee on the Exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian People was established three years ago. Even before it was established, pressure was exercised on countries not to participate in its work, and not to accept membership. However, 20 countries – representing all the continents in the world – accepted, and the following year the membership was increased to 23. We deliberately went out of our way to invite all interested countries to state their views before the Committee, and carefully analysed their statements made at the United Nations. Most of the Arab Frontline States participated as observers. Israel refused.

The Committee carefully analysed all the resolutions of the United Nations on the Palestine Question and on the more comprehensive Middle East crisis. We worked on a basis of consensus, free from any pressure, open to all who cared to make a contribution.

We prepared a report and submitted a plan of action to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights.

In presenting my report on the work of the Committee in its first year, both before the Security Council and before the General Assembly, I stressed the importance of the question

* Text of the speech of Ambassador Victor Gauci at the opening session of the International Conference of Solidarity with the Palestinian People (Basle, May 4–6, 1979)

being discussed, both from the political and human rights view, and asked all countries carefully to consider before delivering a verdict. I said we claimed no monopoly of wisdom – the recommendations could be supplemented or changed in accordance with views expressed, provided they were well-founded. The only partiality to which the Committee would admit was that of legality and morality, and search for peace.

No suggestions or amendments were made. The recommendations were endorsed by the General Assembly with over 90 votes in favour for the first time, and over 100 the second time, when more explanations had been given to those countries which initially had entertained certain doubts. Our recommendations were also endorsed by the Palestine National Council as a positive contribution to the solution of the question of Palestine. The General Assembly endorsed them as a basis for the solution of the question of Palestine.

This greatly encouraged us in our work.

During the third year of our existence we prepared and completed three studies on this question, which we feel will help public opinion to be better informed on the evolution of this question in an objective manner – because in the past a great deal of misinformation had been propagated.

These studies are entitled:

(a) Origin and Evolution of Palestinian Problem (in two parts)
(b) the right of return of the Palestinian People
(c) The right of self-determination

Another study is in the course of preparation. It will be a legal analysis of United Nations resolutions on Palestine and is almost completed. It has been prepared by Professor Mallison, a well known authority on international law at the George Washington University in Washington.

A film too is being prepared, which will be released shortly.

Both the Committee, and the special unit at the United Nations, attach importance to the objectivity of these studies and the film in helping to educate world public opinion.

The representative nature of this Conference is an augury of its success. The Committee is anxious to let you know what it has done, what it has prepared, and what still lies ahead. The Committee has devised a prescription for peace which gives tangible expression to the aspirations of the Palestinian people for self-determination and independence but at the same time allays preoccupations of all States in the Middle East.

Now we are past the time of declarations. What we need is implementation. First the message must be clearly understood. Our discussions here and our action in future will help. The Committee for its part intends to continue to seek consolidation of support so that the strength of international public opinion will prevail, and peace and justice will reign in the Middle East.

It is high time that we proceed from words to action; it is more than high time for the peaceful aspirations of the Palestinian people to be realised.

APPEAL

The world is witnessing a serious escalation of tension in the Middle East as a result of the continued denial of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The denial of the national rights of the Palestinian people for over three decades has plunged the Middle East into four wars, led to untold sufferings and bloodshed, and on several occasions threatened world peace.

The United Nations has affirmed that the just solution of the Palestine question is the key to the achievement of peace and justice in the Middle East. The UN has clearly set out the basis for a just solution of the Palestine question, calling for complete withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, and affirming in the General Assembly resolution 3236 the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish their own independent sovereign state without foreign interference and the right to return to their homeland in conformity with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Any attempts or agreements to solve the Middle East problem outside the United Nations, in disregard of UN resolutions and in the absence of the PLO, universally recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, cannot lead to peace, but to further aggravation of tension and sufferings of the peoples of the region.

We appeal to all peoples, governments, parliaments, political parties, trade unions and all other mass organizations to actively work for an effective implementation of the United Nations resolutions on the Palestine question.

We urge the UN to use all means at its disposal to put in force, without further delay all its resolutions relating to the Palestine question, particularly the General Assembly resolution 3236.

We pledge ourselves to carry on an unceasing campaign for the mobilization of public opinion on the broadest scale for the achievement of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people – key to peace in the Middle East.

DECLARATION

The International Conference of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, held in Basle, Switzerland, from 4 to 6 May, 1979, at the invitation of the World Peace Council, with the participation of 200 delegates representing different political parties, trade unions, women, youth and other mass organisations, from 60 countries on all continents and of 17 international organizations expresses its deep concern at the recent developments in the Middle East.

The Conference believes that the Camp David accords and the recently signed Egyptian-Israeli Treaty concluded with the direct participation of the USA, constitutes a serious escalation of imperialist conspiracies in the area, increasing tension and the danger of new aggressions. They violate the basis for the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East outlined in the resolutions of the United Nations, namely total Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the fulfilment of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people including their right to self-determination, to return to their homeland and to establish their own independent and sovereign state.

This separatist deal constitutes a new imperialist military alliance between Egypt, Israel and the USA designed to ensure a US imperialist military presence and preserve US interests in the area.

The Conference believes that the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty constitute an attempt to legalise and perpetuate Israeli occupation of the Arab territories. They ignore the Palestine problem, the key issue in the Middle East crisis, and the problem of Arab Jerusalem annexed by Israel in defiance of the UN; and by-pass the Palestine Liberation Organisation in an attempt to undermine both the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the PLO, universally

recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The self-rule project contained in these agreements, which has been rejected by the people in the occupied territories, is a total denial of the national rights of the Palestinian people recognized by the United Nations, and an attempt to create an alternative to the PLO.

The Conference draws attention to the serious aggravation of the situation in the Lebanon in the wake of these agreements – the creation by the isolationist forces of an "independent state" in the areas occupied by Israel in South Lebanon and the renewal of Israeli aggression against Lebanon.

The Conference strongly condemns this separatist deal and declares its unreserved support for the measures decided upon at the Baghdad meeting of Arab Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Economy.

The Conference further declares its support of the Arab peoples in their rejection of these agreements and in their struggle for a just and durable peace in the Middle East based on the implementation of the UN resolutions.

DECLARATION ON ISRAELI PRACTICES IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

The International Conference of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, held in Basle, Switzerland, from 4 to 6 May 1979, at the invitation of the World Peace Council, having reviewed the grave situation in the Israeli occupied territories and having heard reports from representatives of the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied Arab territories, including Mayors of cities in the West Bank, recently released Palestinian prisoners from Israeli jails, and representatives of the Israeli peace forces, notes that:

The situation in the occupied Arab territories has been aggravated after the Camp David agreements and the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty. This aggravation is particularly characterised by the intensification of Israeli colonization and expropriation of Arab land which has assumed new dimensions.

Israeli violations of human rights have since multiplied. Hundreds of men, women and even school children have been arrested, brutally tortured and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment simply for opposition to occupation and the Camp David agreements. Demonstrations were brutally suppressed resulting in the killing of several persons and the wounding of many others. Israeli settlers in the occupied territories have joined hands with the Israeli armed forces and actively participated in all these practices.

Israeli persistent violations of the Universal Declaration and International Covenants on Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions is exemplified by the use on a large scale of collective punishment (demolition of houses, imposition of prolonged curfew, sealing off of refugee camps, closing down of schools, etc.) arbitrary transfer of inhabitants from their localities, deportation of people, denial of the rights of association and assembly, censorship, the prohibition of mayors and other personalities from taking part in political, social and

cultural activities and other similar measures.

The Conference notes with grave concern that since the Camp David agreements Israel is openly taking steps for the ultimate annexation of the whole occupied territories. Having annexed Arab Jerusalem in 1967 in defiance of international law and UN resolutions, it is now proceeding to empty the city of its Arab inhabitants by various devious measures, such as high taxation, refusal to grant permission to build on one's land, offering various advantages to would-be Arab emigrants, etc.

The Conference strongly condemns Israel's expansionist and inhuman practices directed against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, and greets the Palestinians perseverance and resistance. It appeals to all peoples, governments, political parties, religious institutions, trade unions, professional associations, youth and student movements and all peace forces to take concrete actions against colonization of Arab territories and Israel's persistent violations of human rights in the occupied Arab territories.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The International Conference of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, meeting in Basle from 4 to 6 May, 1979, underlines the necessity to mobilize public opinion on the broadest scale for the fulfilment of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people as recognized by the United Nations. Toward this end, the following suggestions were presented and all political parties and mass organisations were invited to cooperate together in the realization of these actions, each according to its conditions and possibilities:

1. the dissemination on the broadest possible scale of the documents of the Conference,
2. the organization of campaigns of information on the national levels to explain the nature of the struggle of the Palestinian people,
3. the setting up of broad solidarity committees with the Palestinian people in countries where such committees do not exist,
4. cooperation with the UN and all its bodies dealing with the Palestine question, particularly the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, the UN Ad Hoc Committee on Israeli Practices in the Occupied Arab Territories, the Special Unit on Palestine,
5. urging governments to exert political and economic pressure on the Israeli Government to put an end to its violation of human rights in the occupied territories,
6. urging of public opinion tq campaign for a special session of the UN General Assembly to give immediate consideration to all aspects of the Palestine question, with particular attention to the fact that one of the aims of the US-Egypt-Israel pact is the removal of the Palestine question from the UN and the international arena,
7. the organization of national, regional and international

meetings, seminars and conferences on the various aspects of the Palestine question and Israeli practices in the occupied territories; but particularly on Israeli colonization of the occupied territories,

8. the organization of visits by Palestinian delegations to various countries, particularly in Western Europe and Latin America, to expose the policy and practices of the Israeli authorities and propagate the cause of the Palestinian people,
9. the waging of an information campaign exposing the nature of the Camp David accords and the Israeli-Egyptian Treaty and their effect on the Palestinian people,
10. special attention be paid during this year which has been declared by the UN as International Year of the Child, to the conditions of Palestinian children,
11. the establishment of a broad international continuation committee, open to all political forces and mass organisations supporting the Palestinian people, capable of forwarding the work started at this Conference and developing the solidarity movement with the Palestinian people.
12. setting up of a periodical publication, the objective of which is to propagate the cause and struggle of the Palestinian people and the UN resolutions on the Palestine question; and inform public opinion on Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories,
13. holding a special session of the WPC Human Rights Commission to investigate Israeli violations of human rights in the occupied Arab territories, particularly Israeli colonization and expropriation of Arab land,
14. urge lawyers and their organisations to prepare and bring the case of the rights of the Palestinian people and Israeli colonization of the occupied Arab territories before the International Court of Justice.

REPORTS OF COMMISSIONS

REPORT OF COMMISSION I

The main features of the discussion in the Commission were:

a. Complete unanimity with regard to the policies essential for the solution of the Palestinian problem, recognised to be the key to the solution of the problems facing all the Arab peoples in the Middle East, and crucial to the strengthening and deepening of detente and the preservation of global peace.

b. The expression by a large number of speakers of their great concern at the widening gap between the progressive policies and decisions arrived at at the international level, particularly in the United Nations, and the failure to achieve even a limited degree of implementation of these decisions.

c. A recognition by all that the main task facing the Movement today is to find concrete ways and measures to create a mass movement capable of compelling the implementation of the decisions of the United Nations, which would, by and large, provide a basis for a just and effective solution to the Palestine and Middle East problems.

There was complete unanimity on policy; and this is no doubt due to the aggravated and more dangerous situation which has recently developed as a result of the imperialist Israeli and Egyptian conspiracy, which culminated in the Israeli-Egyptian Treaty. This removed any vacillations and doubts that may have existed before, on some aspects of policy.

Delegate after delegate pointed out that the Camp David agreement and the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty violated all UN resolution on the Middle East problem. They all pointed out the flagrant violation of these resolutions, which undoubtedly the Israeli-Egyptian Treaty constituted.

All participants not only condemned this treaty but characterized it as far from being a Peace Treaty, and bound to aggravate the danger of war in the Middle East as well as threaten world peace.

It was characterized by many delegates as a total denial of the just rights of the Palestinian people to determine their own fate;that it was also designed to perpetuate Israeli annexation of the territories occupied since 1967 as well as an attempt to establish a military alliance to restore imperialism's domination of the whole Middle East Region.

There was unanimity in endorsing the essential conditions for peace in the Middle East, which are:

1. The total withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied since 1967,
2. The right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, which means the right to establish a sovereign Palestinian state on the Wes Bank, the Gaza Strip and in East Jerusalem.
3. The right of all Palestinians to return to their homeland.
4. Recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative body of the Palestinians, therefore as the body which and must be an equal party to all negotiations and decisions for achieving a comprehensive peace settlement in the region.

What was strongly emphasized was that all these prerequisites are in absolute conformity with U.N. resolutions and are, therefore, in accordance with international law.

A further proposal was made that there should be an international conference convened under the auspices of the United Nations. This could take a form similar to the Geneva conference with the full participation of the USSR the USA and of the PLO on an equal basis with all other participants.

The Commission also discussed the gap between United Nations resolutions and their implementation. Ambassador Victor Gauci, Rapporteur of the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, discussed the pernicious role of the mass media in misleading public opinion on the facts of the situation and the creation of a curtain of silence on what the United Nations resolutions really are. He also informed the Commission on the intensive work of the Special Unit of the United Nations on Palestine in preparing and presenting studies and a film which presented the facts objectively.

Delegates referred to the arrogant flounting of UN resolutions by Israel, the USA and Egypt and to an absolute need to inform public opinion of these facts. Undoubtedly, greater use could be made of the material made available by the UN Special Unit on Palestine.

Such objective information was felt to be essential to mobilising mass solidarity action with the Palestinian people.

Many delegates expressed great concern about the inadequate understanding that exists, which hinders campaigning at grass root levels.

Real concern was also expressed about the danger of complacency as a consequence of the very positive advances made at the top international level; namely, the United Nations resolutions, the recognition of the PLO by the United Nations, and its granting the PLO observer status.

The general consensus arising from the interventions in the Commission was that important as these decisions by the United Nations are, by themselves they will not achieve very much.

Unless a great mass movement is developed in most countries demanding that the national governments insist that concrete measures be taken to implement these decisions, they will remain paper resolutions.

The greatest value of these resolutions is that they provide a favourable basis for mass mobilisation of the people to put pressure on their governments.

The question however must not be seen as one of either mass action or international diplomacy. Both are important, one underpinning the other.

A number of concrete proposals were made by the speakers which could help in the development of mass movements similar to the ones which played such a great role in the expression of solidarity with the Vietnamese people and which contributed to their victorious struggle against imperialism.

Specific proposals included:

a. More use to be made of the various U.N. agencies and facilities to propagate the Palestinian case – e.g. ILO, UNESCO, UN Radio wavelength in some countries,
b. Establishment of close contacts with the United Nations Organisation in order to plan campaigns jointly on the fulfilment of United Nations policy on the political and moral issues involved.

c. The World Peace Council, jointly with the PLO, to organise delegations to tour the various countries to inform public opinion and to propagate the just solution of the Palestinian problem,
d. Mass organisations, such as trade unions, political parties, social and educational organisations, to organise seminars, conferences and public meetings to inform the people and argue for the just cause of the Palestinian people.
e. The organising of groups and committees in conjunction with PLO organisations, where they exist, to continuously campaign on these issues.

A need was recognized, indeed an urgent need, to counter zionist and Israeli-inspired propaganda, which is widely publicised by the mass media, especially in the West.

The most pernicious propaganda; namely, that the security of Israel is endangered can and must be exposed. It should be pointed out that it is not Israel whose existence is now denied or endangered. On the contrary, it is the very existence of the Palestinian people that is being deniend by the Israeli establishment.

The Palestinian Arab state projected by U.N. resolution 181 (1947) which also provides legal basis for the Israeli state, is being prevented from coming into existence, by Israel's commitment to hostility against it.

If only such simple historical facts were widely known, the fraudulant foundation of all Israeli propaganda would be destroyed and the whole case built on the false promise would crumble.

There were a number of other specific proposals:

1. That a call for economic boycott be made and all Arab states be asked to withdraw their investments and funds from US banks and use the oil weapon together with those released funds in a manner which would help the Palestinian people.
2. It was felt essential to point out the urgent need to achieve the unity of the Arab states and peoples at the national and regional levels in order to strengthen their capacity to step up the struggle against the Israeli annexationists and aggressors.
3. It was felt that insufficient attention has been paid, up to now, to the need to provide material as well as moral support for the Palestinian people. The plight of the

Palestinian refugees was underlined. Reference was made not only to the inadequate and limited aid offered to them by UNRWA but that it was irregular, and subjected to constant political pressure.

Increased aid is needed and, above all, the assurance that such aid will be steady, secure and free of political pressures as blackmail by certain members of the United Nations, until such time as the refugees have achieved their right to return to their homeland.

Solidarity with and support for the progressive forces in Israel and Egypt who are campaigning against the reactionary policies of their governments were expressed. These progressive forces realize that their national interests cannot be secured at the expense of another people.

Many delegates referred to the hypocrisy of the human rights campaigns launched by some of the countries in the West who were apparently greatly concerned over the alleged denial of human rights of some individuals in some countries whose social order they do not approve, while they callously disregard the real and essential human rights of some 3 million Palestinian Arabes who are denied the elementary rights enshrined not only in the Declaration of Human Rights but also in the founding Charter of the United Nations itself.

It was also pointed out that following the recent Carter-Begin-Sadat concordat the danger exists that some western states may attempt to reverse some of the United Nations resolutions.

Finally, it was unanimously felt that, while the treacherous action by the United States which inspires Sadat's betrayal and capitulation to Israel, calls for renewed efforts to develop mass movements to support the Palestinian people, it was in fact a sign of imperialism's despair following their setbacks on a global scale. The latest setbacks in Iran following close upon their defeats in Afghanistan, Mozambique and Angola, further change the balance of forces on a world scale in favour of anti-imperialist forces. This new balance on a world scale is bound to play a major role in the realization of justice for the Palestinian people and an equitable solution to the problems in the entire Middle East.

This will be a tremendous victory not only for the Palestinian people and the Middle East region, but for the entire world.

REPORT OF COMMISSION II

The Commission discussed the problem of Palestine and the consequences arising from the signing of the Treaty between President Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Begin of Israel, under the auspices of the US government.

Speakers highly appreciated the timely initiative of the WPC in calling this important conference in cooperation with the PLO and with the help of the Swiss Peace Movement.

The discussion revealed close identity of views on the Palestine question and all speakers expressed complete support for and solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people for the realization of their rights; including the right to self-determination and to establish their independent national state, and the return of the Palestinian people to their homeland. Full support was also extended to the growing resistance of the Palestinian people in the Israeli occupied territories and speakers condemned the discriminatory and repressive measures of the Israeli authorities.

The speeches of representatives of the PLO and of the Mayors of cities in the Israeli-occupied West Bank were heard with very special attention and affection and the Commission members highly appreciated their valuable contribution.

The representatives of the Israeli peace forces also told the Commission about the growing support of such forces for the national rights of the Palestinian people. The delegates in the Commission expressed appreciation of the courageous struggle of the peace forces in Israel.

The Commission extended full support to the heroic and difficult struggle of the democratic and peace forces of Egypt against the consequences of the Camp David agreements and the Washington Treaty.

Many speakers stated that the Zionist rulers of Israel were deliberately pursuing a calculated policy of expansionism and

racial discrimination, and that Zionism and imperialism are working in concert to disrupt and suppress the national liberation movement.

In this connection speakers pointed to the intensified activity of the expansionist rulers of Israel to establish new Israeli settlements on the West Bank by confiscating the lands of the Arabs and uprooting the Arab inhabitants. This constitutes a most dangerous threat to the position of the Arab people of Palestine and to a stable peace in the future. The Commission vehemently condemned the establishment of such settlements on the West Bank.

The Commission demanded the complete withdrawal of Israel from all the territories occupied since 1967.

Discussion in the Commission centred on the serious consequences that arise from the Sadat-Begin Treaty, following the Camp David agreements at the dictation of President Carter. Speaker after speaker strongly denounced the Treaty as an act of treachery committed by President Sadat against the legitimate cause of the Palestinian people and of the Arab national liberation movement. Speakers stressed that the Treaty violates the sovereignty of Egypt itself. They further pointed out that the so-called self-rule for the West Bank, which Sadat has accepted, in fact deprives the Palestinians of their national rights, that Sadat has agreed to a permanent Israeli military presence on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Thus, the speakers said, the Treaty by-passes the central issue of the Middle East problem, i.e. the question of the national state for the Palestinian people.

The speakers underscored the point that the Treaty does not bring peace to the Middle East. On the contrary it escalates the arms race and increases all-round tensions. They expressed concern that the Treaty has laid the basis for forging a new military alliance with the participation of the US imperialists, Egypt and Israel, replacing the CENTO which has collapsed after the fall of the regime of the Shah and the revolution in Iran.

A number of speakers pointed to the new conspiracy of Zionism and US imperialism to partition Lebanon, to create a puppet state announced by Haddad which is based on communal reaction and which will serve as another base of operation against the Arab progressive forces. This, they said, was another direct consequence of the Sadat-Begin Treaty.

Speakers pointed out that the Treaty has come against the

background of the fiasco of US imperialism's policies in this region, with the revolution in Iran, Afghanistan and Ethiopia and the blow that these revolutions have dealt to imperialism's strategic aims. US imperialism has, therefore, become extremely desperate.

Some speakers pointed out that over the years Cyprus has been used by imperialism as a springboard for aggression against the Palestinian and Arab national liberation movement, and also as a monitoring station, mainly against the Soviet Union. It was therefore demanded that the imperialist bases and monitoring stations in Cyprus be liquidated and foreign troops withdrawn in the interest of peace in the region.

Speakers also stated that the new military alliance poses a new threat to the territorial integrity and independence of the countries of the region in Asia and Africa. The threats levelled at present against Syria, Jordan, Democratic Yemen, Libya Jamahiriya and Ethiopia are examples testifying to this.

Speakers from the African national liberation movements pointed to the intensification of imperialist conspiracies against the freedom struggles in Southern Africa and the growing collusion of Israel with the racist regime in South Africa. They stressed that the Middle East question cannot be isolated from the present developments in Southern Africa.

US imperialism's increasing military presence in the Indian Ocean was also stressed as constituting a new threat to peace and independence of countries of the region.

Several speakers also highlighted the role of the present leaders of China in supporting US imperialism in its global plans and conspiracies against peace and detente.

In the speeches of a number of participants concern was expressed for the fate of women and children in the Israeli-occupied territories and in the refugee camps. Concern was also expressed for the fate of women political prisoners in Israeli-occupied areas, particularly on the West Bank. A suggestion was made that in the International Year of the Child, this aspect needs to be highlighted.

Several speakers welcomed the growing Arab peoples' solidarity in the struggle to defeat the conspiracies of imperialism and Zionism against the Arab national liberation movement and to fight Sadat's treacherous act. They welcomed the decisions of the Baghdad summit in connection with the Treaty.

In the course of the discussion speakers stressed that comprehensive solution of the Middle East problem cannot be brought about without the full participation of the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. They also stressed that the Soviet Union which along with other countries of the socialist community has firmly and resolutely stood by the Palestinians and the Arab national liberation movement must be an active participant in the work of a comprehensive solution.

A number of speakers stressed the need for unity of all solidarity movements with the non-aligned countries and with the countries of the socialist community. This they emphasised will guarantee further successes of the national liberation movements and will be a most powerful factor in the struggle for peace and detente and against the aggressive designs of imperialism and Zionism.

The discussion has shown that the Palestinian question and the question of stable solution of the Middle East problem cannot be viewed in isolation from the menacing developments against peace and national independence in other parts of the world.

The specifics of the Middle East problem are related to the international character of the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and racism and for the defence of peace and independence of the countries on all continents.

ANNEX

UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS

General Assembly Resolution No. 3236 (XXIX) 1974
On the Question of Palestine

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Palestine,

Having heard the statement of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestine people,

Having also heard other statements made during the debate,

Deeply concerned that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has yet been achieved and recognizing that the problem of Palestine continues to endanger international peace and security.

Recognizing that the Palestinian people is entitled to self-determination in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Expressing its grave concern that the Palestinian people has been prevented from enjoying its inalienable rights, in particular its right to self-determination,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter,

Recalling its relevant resolutions which affirm the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination,

1. *Reaffirms* the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including:

(a) The right to self-determination without external interference;

(b) The right to national independence and sovereignty;

2. *Reaffirms also* the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and calls for their return;

3. *Emphasizes* that full respect for and realization of these inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are indispensable for the solution of the question of Palestine;

4. *Recognizes* that the Palestinian people is a principal party in the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East;

5. *Further recognizes* the right of the Palestinian people to regain its rights by all means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

6. *Appeals* to all States and international organizations to extend their support to the Palestinian people in its struggle to restore its rights, in accordance with the Charter;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to establish contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization on all matters concerning the question of Palestine;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session on the implementation of the present resolution;

9. *Decides* to include the item entitled "Question of Palestine" in the provisional agenda of its thirtieth session.

General Assembly Resolution No. 3237 (XXIX) 1974

Granting Observer Status to the Palestine Liberation Organization

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Palestine,

Taking into consideration the universality of the United Nations prescribed in the Charter,

Recalling its resolution 3102 (XXVIII) of 12 December 1973,

Taking into account Economic and Social Council resolutions 1835 (LVI) of 14 May 1974 and 1840 (LVI) of 15 May 1974,

Noting that the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, the World Population Conference and the World Food Conference have in effect invited the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in their respective deliberations,

Noting also that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has invited the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in its deliberations as an observer,

1. *Invites* the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer,

2. *Invites* the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer,

3. *Considers* that the Palestine Liberation Organization is entitled to participate as an observer in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of other organs of the United Nations;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps for the implementation of the present resolution.

General Assembly Resolution No. 3375 (XXX) 1975

Invitation to the Palestine Liberation Organization to Participate in the Efforts for Peace in the Middle East

The General Assembly,

Having considered the item entitled "Question of Palestine",

Reaffirming its resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974, in which it recognized the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people,

Recognizing the necessity of achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East at the earliest possible time,

Believing that the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations is a prerequisite to achieving a just and lasting peace in the area,

Convinced that the participation of the Palestinian people is essential in any efforts and deliberations aiming at the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East,

1. *Requests* the Security Counsel to consider and adopt the necessary resolutions and measures in order to enable the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable national rights in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX);

2. *Calls* for the invitation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East which are held under the auspices of the United Nations, on an equal footing with other parties, on the basis of resolution 3236 (XXIX);

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to inform the Co-Chairmen of the Peace Conference on the Middle East of the present resolution and to take all necessary steps to secure the invitation of the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the work of the Conference as well as in all other efforts for peace;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report on this matter to the General Assembly as soon as possible.

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